

577 Krasheninnikoff's opinion, that theft is regarded by the Koryak as laud-
 114 able,¹ is utterly unjust. In former times it was considered right to plunder
 685 enemies; but this was a form of spoil, and not theft. Their language has a
 word for stealing (*u-to'latu*, "I steal"); but cases of theft are rare. If one is
 convicted of stealing, the owner takes away the stolen things, and just laughs
 at the thief.²

685 During the whole of my sojourn among the Koryak I lost nothing from
 my belongings. My boxes and bags, packed full of provisions, and goods
 for exchange and presents, — all of considerable value, and sealed only with
 a sealing-wax seal, — were frequently left by me outside, or in the care of
 a Koryak, to be taken to some other place in my absence; and never a
 thing was lost. On the contrary, on the two occasions on which I did lose
 things in the Gishiga district, the theft was committed by Russian drivers.

577 The orders that I gave to the Koryak for models, or for the acquisition
 of articles for my collection, were carried out by them honestly and promptly.
 On one occasion only did a trader — a Koryak from the Mikino settlement,
 who had gone to the Opuka River for purposes of trade — send me fewer
 things than I ordered from him. In this case, his son, when I told him that
 according to my calculations his father was in debt to me, straightened out
 the difference by giving me a rug of reindeer-skins.

I will touch here on the sympathy of the Reindeer Koryak for human
 suffering. They are always ready to assist the starving — no matter who
 they may be, Maritime Koryak or Russians — by bringing them reindeer.
 The poor inhabitants of the Russian settlements, when their fish-supplies are
 exhausted toward spring, go to the Reindeer camps, and the Koryak slaughter
 reindeer for them, either for a trifling remuneration or on trust. The Russian
 drivers who, in the spring of 1900, took me and my belongings on seven
 dog-sledges to the Reindeer Koryak of the Topolovka River, left that place
 with their sledges loaded with slaughtered reindeer.

153 The mind of the Koryak, we may say, works as slowly as does his
 clumsy body, and gets tired as quickly. Very few of the women were able
 to dictate to me two tales in succession. Usually, after having told one tale,
 they would ask to be relieved, for they were tired. In taking my notes, I
 was obliged to stop frequently, for I could see that my interpreter was tired,
 and unable to follow my questions with proper attention.

517 The Koryak are very fond of knowledge. They followed with great
 interest the descriptions of the life of the people in other countries. Every
 novelty excites and attracts them; but their attention is not lasting. Our
 phonograph made the most striking impression wherever we went. Often a

¹ Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 220.

² From the myths we can also see that the Koryak do not regard theft as a virtue. *Emo'mqui's* wife, *Ermino-Woman*, being accused of stealing, was driven out of *Eig-Raven's* home (Part I, p. 222).

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hundred persons would crowd into the house where we put up our phonograph, and gather around it in a ring. Some of the lads watched the phonograph in action with an interest as intense as if they were about to penetrate the mystery of the box which could utter words and sounds. 517

The grown-up people explained it very simply, thus: "A living being, capable of imitating humans, is sitting in the box." They used to call it the "old man." Naturally, they were especially pleased to hear the box repeat Koryak tales and songs. Of the musical records they liked particularly the reproduction of the xylophone and of negro melodies. They preferred solo to orchestral records. The Koryak are easily excited by their own primitive music and songs. They appreciate a good voice and skill in beating the drum. They will sit and listen for hours to singing accompanied by the drum.

NUMERATION AND MEASURES. — The Koryak system of numeration, like that of the Chukchee, has two bases, — five, the number of fingers on one hand; and twenty, the number of fingers and toes combined, or simply the man. They Koryak are not expert in the use of numbers. The majority of them, even at the present time, use their hands and feet as helps in computing even small numbers; but even so, they count better than the Chukchee. I saw Reindeer Koryak with several hundred reindeer who knew their number exactly. The traders from among the Maritime Koryak can not only reckon mentally small numbers (not above a hundred) without the help of fingers or sticks, but even have a curious way of keeping their accounts.¹ While I was among the Chukchee, I saw traders who were absolutely unable to count. 802

In the Kolyma district, not far from the Indigirka River, I once met a wealthy Chukchee returning from the Russian settlement called the Russian Estuary. He was in the habit of exchanging reindeer-meat and tea with the hunters of the tundra for their arctic foxes, and selling them to the Russian merchant from whom he was returning when I met him. Before retiring to bed, he took out of a leather bag bricks of tea, and arranged them in a row, in pairs. Then he took from another smaller bag little willow sticks, and placed a stick on each pair of the bricks of tea. The number of the sticks corresponded to the number of the fox-skins he had had. In this manner he checked off the exchange he had effected, and he usually received two bricks of tea for each arctic fox. This time a few pairs of bricks were left uncovered by the sticks. The Chukchee decided that the merchant had made a mistake. Subsequently, when I met the Russian merchant, it turned out differently.

The Chukchee brought a few bundles of fox-skins, and, throwing them to the merchant, said, "Give me tea for this." The merchant counted up the skins, and gave him tea at the rate of eighty kopecks per brick, while before

¹ See Chapter XI, Figs. 248-250.

325 The love for silver ornaments is equally strong among the Tungus and
 301 the Yakut; among the latter, however, this passion has weakened of late,
 under the influence of civilization. They even preferred silver to gold, though
 the Yakut well know that gold is the more expensive metal, and though
 Yakut silversmiths know how to smelt gold, too. Even the poorest Tungus
 women have some silver ornaments on their dresses.

The Koryak, on the contrary, have no particular partiality for silver.
 Even the women of wealthy reindeer-breeders do not always possess silver
 ornaments. The color of copper or brass is more suited to their taste than
 (517) the white color of silver. I remember that in Kamenskoye, when I offered
 a Koryak woman the choice between a wide brass ring with a shining shield
 and a narrow silver ring, she chose the former. A contrary result was
 obtained from the same experiment at another time with a Tungus woman.

The Koryak call silver *ñaña-polou'ntin* ("easily selling iron"). This name,
 therefore, expresses the superiority of silver over iron. The derivation of the
 word for "iron" is unknown. At any rate, it was not borrowed from the Russians.

322 WORK IN WOOD AND BONE. — Wood and bone objects, from tiny carv-
 177 ings up to sledges, are nowadays wrought only by means of the above-
 described iron tools. For fastening the parts of sledges and of the frames of
 skin boats, pegs of wood or iron are not used. Everything is tied with
 leather straps; but the Koryak are fond of joining their small chests for
 holding tea-dishes, or other objects, with steel nails obtained from the Russians.
 Household objects of wood have been described before,¹ and carvings will be
 discussed later. The netting-needle, and the vice used instead of iron pincers
 for finishing iron objects with a file, are made of wood.

321 In addition to the knife for cutting herring,² many other tools are made
 of bone, antler, or ivory. A thimble and ring of ivory, which protect the
 thumb and index-finger in chipping stone tools and working wood with the
 285] knife, have been described.³ Fig. 150, *a*, shows a bone needle used in
 172 weaving baskets of grass. Fig. 150, *b*, represents a bone tool found by me
 412 in excavating an old underground dwelling at the mouth of the Nayakhan River.
 In shape it looks like an imitation of an iron hammer, but with this differ-
 ence, that holes have been made in it for tying it to the handle by means
 of small leather straps. What its practical application may have been, is
 unknown. It is too small to have served for clubbing seals.⁴ It was found
 with potsherds; and if its shape has been copied from an iron hammer, then
 321 the potsherds must be of very recent origin. Fig. 150, *c*, represents a pair
 of ear-rings carved out of walrus-tusk with a knife. In shape these ear-rings
 are an imitation of the stone ear-rings referred to before (see p. 610), but
 differ from them in having linear ornaments.⁵

¹ See p. 570.² See p. 573.³ See p. 608.⁴ See p. 545.⁵ See also bone lamp (p. 567), stool made of antler (p. 568), spoon (p. 571), fish-bone (p. 573), picks and
 pestle (pp. 577-579).

324 This may probably be explained by the fact that the Koryak practised the art of polishing stone very little. As is well known, but few traces of the working of stone for artistic purposes have been found in palæolithic stations of Europe. Among the Eskimo carvings in the National Museum at Washington, we find some specimens of animal figures made from soapstone and flint.¹

323 Nor do the Koryak use clay for moulding figures, and we do not know if they ever used it for that purpose. In the excavations of ancient dwellings of the Maritime Koryak, mentioned before, I found traces of their former art in pottery which disappeared with the introduction of metallic utensils; but no remains of clay toys have been found.²

532 There is no doubt that among the works of art of North America, the Eskimo carvings of animals resemble those of the Koryak most closely. The Eskimo, the Koryak, the Kerek, and the Chukchee are the only primitive tribes among whom miniature sculpture has been so strongly developed.³

517 All the tribes mentioned here use the same technical processes in carving. Their carvings are realistic in character, are of small or even miniature size, and to a great extent are made as much for the pleasure which the carvers derive from their work as for the satisfaction of the æsthetic tastes of the people. The difference between the Eskimo and Koryak carvings is, that the latter are less available for practical application than the former, and are of greater artistic worth. In that regard the Chukchee carvings resemble more closely those of the Eskimo, judging from the collection furnished by our Expedition and from the collection of the Ethnographical Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg.⁴ Even the Kerek carvings are inferior to those of the Koryak in their finishing touches. The Chukchee and the Kerek carvings still further resemble those of the Eskimo, in that they are more frequently decorated with engravings, consisting chiefly of dots and lines, than those of the Koryak.

532 The plastic art of the Indians of the North Pacific coast, in so far as it is expressed in carving, is entirely different from that of the Koryak and

¹ See Murdock, pp. 395, 399.

² Nelson obtained on the Lower Yukon, where the art of pottery was formerly developed, a pair of rudely modelled clay dolls (see Nelson, Fig. 126 on p. 342, and p. 343). In the excavations of the ancient Aino underground dwellings were found, among the remnants of pottery, clay figures of men. Some figures collected by Professor E. Baer are now in the Museum für Völkerkunde of Berlin (see p. 645). It is possible that the Koryak made figures of unbaked clay, and that therefore no trace is left of them, as articles made of unbaked clay crumble in the moist ground. The avidity with which the Koryak seize upon every material fit for sculpture may be judged from the fact that their children, as soon as they convinced themselves that the plaster I used could be cut with the knife, started to make toy dishes and animal figures from the pieces which fell on the ground while I was making my masks. Before trying the use of the knife, however, they touched the plaster with their tongues, to see if they could make more palatable use of it.

³ Among European nations, the Swiss are known for their miniature sculpture from wood and ivory. Itally artistic articles may be found quite frequently among the Swiss products; but as a rule, their figures of animals, notwithstanding the careful and detailed finish, produce a less vivid impression than some of the crude figures of the Koryak, in which the most characteristic posture of the animal is brought out.

⁴ See Bogomolov, Chukchee Material Life, Plates XX, XXI.

532 the Koryak before the beginning of reindeer-breeding, and that through force
174 of habit the artists used for their models principally objects of maritime life.

The carvings of the Maritime Koryak along the shores of Bering Sea — the Alutor people and those on the rivers Opuka and Poqač — are more artistic than those of the inhabitants on the shores of Penshina Bay. The latter, moreover, lack such material as walrus-tusks, since walrus are not found in their home: and the artists there have to be content mainly with wood, and have to obtain their walrus-ivory through barter.

532 Among the objects of Koryak miniature sculpture are not only quadrupeds,
517 birds, fish, and other animals, but also human beings. The artists render the figures of human beings or of animals in the round or in relief, mostly in high-relief mounted on a base.

Carvings representing Men. — In carvings representing men, wrestling-matches or the beating of drums, as well as hunting-scenes, are most frequently selected, on account of the animated motions of these actions. In wrestling, as well as in domestic shamanism or in the beating of drums for their own pleasure, men strip to the belt. This is the form in which the artist strives to present vividly the human body. Female figures are carved less frequently,

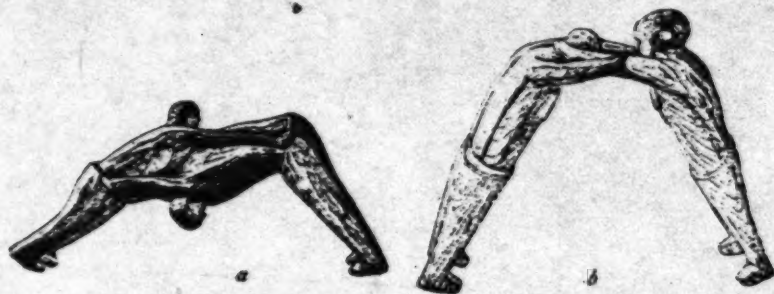


Fig. 166. a (aifz), b (aifz). Wood-Carvings representing Wrestlers. From Mikino. Height, 7.5 cm., 14.5 cm.

and always dressed. Unlike the Chukchee women, the Koryak women do not strip at home. Besides, the realistic presentation of the female body is much more difficult than that of the male, and it is also more difficult to put life into the figure of a human being clothed than into a nude figure. The striving of the Koryak artists toward the realistic presentation of the human form pertains mainly to the upper part of the body. The curves of the back and the tension of the muscles are very strikingly reproduced in ivory by good artists. The Koryak artist does not take the trouble to finish off in detail the feet of men or of animals. Human heads are more poorly finished than are those of animals.

Let us begin with the less artistic models from the shores of Penshina Bay.

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of the artist to make the position and the curves of the body correspond with the movements expressed in the figure.

Figs. 169 and 170 represent carvings from walrus-ivory. With the exception of Fig. 170, *a*, made at Opuka, all the other figures were carved in Paren and Kuel. The details of these carvings alone put them above the wood-carvings of the same villages. To a considerable extent this feature depends on the quality of the material: but, aside from that, the carvers of

these figures were the best masters of the art to be found on the shores of Penshina Bay. The idea of representing people in motion — singing, dancing, and beating the drum in different fantastic postures — must be called bold for a primitive sculptor.



Fig. 168 (1902). Wood-Carving representing Drummer.
From Mikino. Height, 10.5 cm.

The Koryak sculptor has no model to copy from. In his creative art he must reproduce from memory exclusively, without the aid of the accessories of modern

artists, the real forms impressed upon his mind. As yet he is unable to reproduce the details, or to finish the parts of the body in the carved figures, true to nature. The figures themselves represent a more or less vague sketch of the artist's idea. All the little figures of dancing shamans in Figs. 169 and 170 resemble very much the unfinished work of a modern sculptor, in which the posture is well defined, the proportion of the parts is preserved, and a certain animation is to be seen. As little finished as are the faces of the dancing shamans, one can read the expression of ecstasy in some of them, as in Fig. 169, *b* and *d*. In all these specimens the muscles of the back and the neck are much better modelled than those of the chest and of the limbs. In most of them the details on the limbs are entirely wanting. In the specimen shown in Fig. 169, *d*, an attempt is made to model the chest too. On all the drums the cross-strings forming the handle are indicated on the inner side. On some of them the cords are undercut, so that they are similar to the cords made of nettle-threads, of the actual drums, although thicker. In others they are simply indicated by bars extending across the drum, which are not separated from the flat surface indicating the inner side of the drum-head. In all these specimens the drum and the drum-stick are connected by sinew or skin string. The iron rattles on the drum¹ are not indicated.

¹ See Part I, Fig. 19, p. 55.

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The carvings represented in Fig. 170 differ from the preceding in that more care is bestowed on the representation of the head. While all the preceding figures have no hair and no ears, we find here the characteristic hair-dress of the Koryak shown. The middle of the head is shaved, and the ring of hair is indicated by an ivory ring with hachure. In Fig. 170, δ , the ears are also represented. While in the first of these two specimens the lively motion and the characteristic pose of the head deserve particular praise, as also the attempt to represent the hand holding the drum and the rattles attached to the drum, the figure shown in δ is very disproportionate. It is, however, the only one of this group in which the muscles of the arm are represented with any detail. The left profile of the man is particularly good. On the left side the folds in the skin of abdomen and chest, brought about by the forward inclination of the body, are also represented remarkably well. On the drum all the attachments are represented in detail.



Fig. 170. α (5172), δ (5173). Ivory Carvings representing Drummers. Height, 5 cm., 12 cm. α , From Opuka River; δ , From Kuel.

Fig. 171 shows two men producing fire with the bow-drill. The execution of these figures is similar to that of the figures shown in Fig. 169.



Fig. 171 (5174). Ivory Group representing the Drilling of Fire. From Puren. Height, 7 cm.

A still higher technique and greater artistic merit are to be found in the figure of a man on a base, holding a drum, which was obtained by Mr. Bogoras on the shore of Bering Sea (Fig. 172, α). It is carved from walrus-tusk. The plastic curves of the back and the tense muscles of back and sides are rendered with anatomical accuracy and realistic vividness. The chest is flat, and the muscles are not indicated. This may be due to the difficulty of reaching the chest. The surface of the chest is rough, while the whole rest of the figure has a high polish. The head is executed in great detail; and the cut of the eyes, and the form of the cheek-

bones, are quite characteristic of the Siberian type. The same vivacity, though less artistic execution, marks Fig. 172, *δ*, which represents a man who has caught by the antlers a young reindeer which is trying to pull back. In Fig. 172, *α* and *δ*, the heads of the human figures are represented as having the hair cut in a circle, and tonsured in the middle.

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Fig. 172. Ivory Carvings. *α* (1717), Drummer (height, 6 cm.); *δ* (1712), Man and Reindeer (height, 4.5 cm.).

Fig. 173, a human figure in sitting posture, made from wood in the settlement of Big Itkana, represents the captain of an American whaling-schooner who goes to Penshina Bay nearly every summer. The figure is painted black. This figure is marked by the absence of any artistic merit like the other wood-carvings of the Koryak of Penshina Bay; but it is interesting to note that the figure is given a droll aspect with the hat pulled over the eyes, the buttoned-up coat, and the hands thrust into the pockets. Similarly we find in the Chukchee collections of carvings of the Ethnographical Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg a human figure — judging by the cap, an American or Russian, — in a comic and rather indecent posture.¹



Fig. 173 (1713). Wood-Carving representing Captain of a Whaling-Vessel. From Itkana. Height, 9 cm.

Among the walrus-tusk carvings from the shores of Bering Sea, representing human beings, we found also specimens without any artistic value, as is shown by Fig. 174, *α*, *δ*. These two crude carvings, — with arms indicated, but not separated from the rest of the body, — although obtained by me in the settlement of Kuel (Penshina Bay), had their origin on the Opuka River (Bering Sea).

Fig. 174, *α*, represents a woman in a sitting position, with a child on her lap. The hole in the lower part of the figure shows that it is intended

¹ See Bogdan, *Chukchee Material Life*, Plate XXI, Fig. 12.

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to be carried on a strap, and to serve as a toy, not as a specimen of real art. This explains why the figure has no finish. The face of this figure is perfectly flat.¹ Fig. 174, *b*, also appears to represent a woman. The occurrence of engraved and etched concentric and single circles, dots, and lines, which are common ornaments on the animals carved from ivory by the western Eskimo, are to be noted on this figure, and also the suggestion of an Eskimo woman's jacket, with its characteristic hood and front flap. On the back the row of circles with dots is continued by two more circles on each side, leaving the middle of the back, just over the legs, undecorated.



Fig. 174. Ivory Carvings. *a* (2 1/2 in.) Child; height, 2.5 cm.; *b* (2 1/2 in.) Woman in Fur Dress (height, 6.5 cm.).

Over this row is another horizontal row of five circles with dots, which extend over the back from arm to arm. The collar-like shoulder-part is continued over the back with a slight curve downward. The space between the double line, which is continued from the front over the shoulders, and the sharp lower edge of the garment, is occupied by a line of seven black dots which slant a little upward from left to right. On the middle of the hood at the back are two circles with dots, — one over the other, — and a number of vertical lines of dots which curve forward at their lower ends. This figure probably represents an

Eskimo woman, or it may have been made by an Eskimo artist.

In connection with the various Koryak carvings, the wooden figures of men should be mentioned, made without any artistic finish, with their extremities on pivots, like mechanical dolls. These figures serve as toys for children, and are to be found also among the Chukchee.²

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At a previous place I called attention to the crudeness of the images and the conventionality of the figures of idols and amulets.³ Compared with the carvings of the Koryak of the coast of Bering Sea, the images of their anthropomorphic "guardians" appear like the products of a backward tribe.⁴ In connection with this question, I advance the hypothesis that the cause of the crudeness of religious carvings lies in the vague conception of the artist as to the appearance of the invisible anthropomorphic beings. Between the

¹ Compare Part I, Fig. 56, p. 114.

² See Bogoras, *Chukchee Material Life*, Plate XXI, Fig. 7.

³ See Part I, p. 115.

⁴ In a note published in C. Lumholtz's *Decorative Art of the Huichol Indians*, Professor Boas discusses the crudeness of amulets and other sacred objects, as compared to the elaborate finish of objects of art. He calls attention to this phenomenon among the Huichol Indians, the Gold, the Gilyak, and other tribes (see *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. III, p. 287).

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two classes of carvings, the religious and the realistic, there are, of course, intermediate stages, especially in carvings that serve practical purposes; but, in so far as realistic sculpture aims to afford pleasure, it has a development independent of religion: its only source is in the æsthetic need of man.

Of course, all our wants, both material and spiritual, influence each other to a certain extent. So religious ideas have almost always influenced the character of art, and the influence has generally been detrimental.¹ I even go so far as to think that the symbolic tendency in the plastic art of the Indians of the North Pacific coast is also due, to a certain extent, to religious ideas. The symbolism of these Indians in sculpture is a perversion of true realistic art. The high technique displayed by Indian artists in their carvings of masks, helmets, and other articles, clearly proves that realistic representations of animals are not beyond their power.²

Professor Boas explains the symbolic tendency of the Northwestern Indians by the dependence of the art of sculpture on the material, — that is, that, since it serves for decorative purposes, the subject to be represented is more or less subordinate to the object on which it is shown,³ — but it is quite possible that the symbolism of the carvings made in connection with totem-posts was due to a vague conception, on the part of the artists, of the totem ancestors, whom they imagined now as real animals, and now in anthropomorphic form. The only features which are essential, therefore, for the recognition of the ancestor, are those that are most characteristic of his animal state, at the expense of the secondary features. The application to the human face, of the characteristic features of the head of the animal which serves as a totem, may be explained in the same way.

Carvings representing Animals. — In the archaeological remains of the stone age of the Old and New Worlds we find, among works of primitive art, representations mainly of human figures, and very few of animals. In the miniature sculpture of the Eskimo, principally made of ivory, we see, on the contrary, a tendency to reproduce mostly animal forms; but in the Chukchee and Koryak carvings we find, side by side with animal forms, also those of human beings.

Carvings of human beings have been described in the preceding pages. I shall now take up specimens of carvings of animals. Here I must repeat what I have already said, that the carvings of animals among the Koryak and Chukchee are much less frequently adapted to definite purposes than they

¹ Taking our illustrations from the history of the sculpture of civilized nations, we see, that, among the Greeks, religious ideas corresponded with the requirements of realistic art; Buddhism, and to a certain extent Christianity, introduced a great deal of conventionalism into sculpture; while the Semitic religion entirely suppressed this branch of art.

² See Boas, *The Decorative Art of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast* (Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, 1897, Vol. IX, p. 124).

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 123-126.

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532 are among the Eskimo. Among the Koryak, as well as among the Chukchee,
 517 real artistic carvings of animals have for their object solely the satisfaction of
 the artistic taste. I had opportunities to see how carvings brought to the
 settlements along Penshina Bay from the shores of Bering Sea were preserved
 in the work-bags of the women, who would frequently take them out only to
 look at them. To what extent the artistic instinct is developed among the
 Koryak may be judged from the fact that they easily recognized drawings
 and pictures in the books which I showed them, and always recognized the
 photographs of their friends. On the contrary, the northern Yakut, the
 Tungus, and even the Yukaghir, frequently failed to recognize photographs



Fig. 175. Ivory Carvings representing Animals. *a, b, c, f*, From Opoka; *c, d*, From Poqat.
a (3111₁), Group of Sea-Lions (height, 3 cm.); *b* (3111₂), Bear carrying a Fish (height, 4 cm.); *c* (3111₃),
 Hare; *d* (3111₄), Sea-Lion (height, 4.2 cm.); *e* (3111₅), Young Mountain-Sheep (height, 3.7 cm.); *f* (3111₆),
 Mountain-Sheep (height, 5 cm.).

which I took of their friends. Some of them even failed to recognize that
 the photographs represented human faces.

Specimens of Koryak carvings representing animals are shown here in
 Figs. 175-179. Those represented in Fig. 175 were obtained by me among
 the Maritime Koryak on Penshina Bay, but were made originally by the in-
 habitants of the coast of Bering Sea. All are carvings from walrus-tusk.
 That shown in *a* represents a group of four sea-lions (*Eumetopias Stelleri*
 Peters) on an ice-floe; *b*, a black bear (*Ursus arctos* L.) with a fish in its
 mouth; *c*, a white hare (*Lepus variabilis* Pall.) in a sitting posture; *d*, a
 sea-lion (*Eumetopias Stelleri*); *e*, a mountain-lamb; and *f*, a mountain-sheep
 (*Ovis nivicola* Eschholtz).

As I said before, in speaking of Koryak carvings in general, the feet of

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the animals are imperfectly made, although these carvings represent the work of the best artists. It should be said, however, that the unmounted animal carvings could not stand if the feet were made properly. To give them greater stability, the feet of the two sheep (*e*, *f*) are not entirely separated. On the other hand, the flippers of the sea-lions on the ice-floe, which serves as a stand (*a*), are finished very vividly as compared with those of the single sea-lion without stand (*d*). On the whole, however, the position and the motion of the animals of the carvings are rendered with such realism as to call forth vividly its picture in the mind of the spectator, and they testify to the great skill and aesthetic taste of the artist.

In comparison with these specimens, the carvings of Chukchee artists are of far inferior artistic merit.¹ Even more inferior than these specimens are the Eskimo carvings of animals made at different places, and obtained by different collectors, although the nature of the Eskimo carvings, and the method of working them, are exactly the same as those of the Chukchee and Koryak.²

Among the Koryak carvings we do not find, for reasons which are perfectly apparent, any figures of the polar bear; but we do find them among the Chukchee;³ and it is remarkable that the Chukchee carvings of this animal, judging from the specimens reproduced by Bogoras, are distinguished by the same artistic faults as those made by the Eskimo. Without explicit description, it is difficult to recognize the polar bear in the Eskimo carvings intended to represent that animal.

The walrus and seal are very vividly reproduced in Koryak carvings; but the figures of whales are lifeless, and resemble very much the Eskimo carvings of whales (compare, for instance, the wooden whale in Part I, Fig. 30, *a*, p. 72, with the Eskimo figures of whales).⁴ However, the whale reproduced on p. 72 is made for a religious ceremony; and carvings made for religious purposes are, as I have said, inferior to those made for aesthetic purposes. This becomes especially clear when comparing, for instance, the realistic figure of a bear in the carving in Fig. 175, *b*, with the crude wooden bear made for a festival on the occasion of a bear-hunt.⁵ Artistic carvings are produced only by men endowed with special skill and with a leaning towards art, while religious carvings are made by any Koryak.

Fig. 176 represents fishes, a worm, and a grasshopper. Three of these (*a*, *d*, and *e*) are made from walrus-tusk, one (*b*) from mammoth-ivory, one (*c*)

¹ See Bogoras, *Chukchee Material Life*, Plates XIX on dash XXI.

² Compare Boas, *Central Eskimo*, Plate IX, opp. p. 653; Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 113. See also Murdock, *The Point Barrow Eskimo*, pp. 398-401; Nelson, *The Eskimo about Bering Strait*, pp. 345, 346; E. Bessels, *Die amerikanische Nordpol-Expedition*, p. 108.

³ See Bogoras, *Chukchee Material Life*, Plate XX, Fig. 4.

⁴ See Murdock, p. 403, Fig. 407; Boas, *Central Eskimo*, Plate VIII, opp. p. 652.

⁵ See Part I, Fig. 39, p. 88.

532 from bone of whale. All of these carvings were made on the shore of Bering Sea.
 512 The one shown in *d* is especially vivid. Fig. 176, *a*, judging by the fin on
 825 the back, near the tail (evidently the adipose fin) represents a fish of the family *Salmonoida*, probably *Salmo lagocephalus*. The fish is ornamented with engraved dots and lines painted black, similar to the etchings of the Eskimo, especially those of Alaska; but they are made with more idea of symmetry. We find similar ornamentations in the carvings of the Kerek and Chukchee. Fig. 176, *c*, represents a flounder. The tail and the fins are



Fig. 176. Ivory and Bone Carvings representing animals. *a* (7779), Salmon (length, 6.6 cm.); *b* (7774), Fish (length, 5.6 cm.); *c* (7777), Flounder (length, 3.5 cm.); *d* (7771), Cormorant (length, 4.7 cm.); *e* (7772), Grasshopper (length, 4.2 cm.).

indicated by small engraved lines; and the entire body is covered with dots on the front, while on the back the ornamentation consists of a herring-bone pattern running from head to tail. An exactly similar flounder is contained among the Koryak carvings of the Museum of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, where there is also to be found another specimen without dots.¹ A similar figure of a flounder with dots is in the Eskimo collection of E. W. Nelson, made in Alaska.²

Fig. 177 represents carvings of birds. All of them were made near Bering Sea, and *a* and *c* are carved from walrus-tusk; *b*, from mammoth-ivory. Fig. 177, *a*, represents a sea-bird, probably a cormorant. The neck and head of the bird are life-like, but the wings are not indicated; and there are no feet, the bird being represented as sitting on the water. As a rule, the common way in which the Koryak represent birds in their carvings is to make them appear in a floating or sitting position, so as to avoid the necessity of making the feet; another way is to represent them soaring with outstretched wings. Little figures of birds are carved by children from various materials. Near Penshina Bay they are made from reindeer-antler and mountain-sheep horn, also from birch-wood or roots of the stone-pine.

In the Koryak collection of the American Museum of Natural History there are a large number of small carvings of water-birds, birds of prey, and

¹ See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plate XXXI, Figs. 13, 16.

² See Hoffman, The Graphic Art of the Eskimo, Plate LVII, Fig. 1.

others. There are also wooden partridges with well-defined wings. Some of the carvings representing birds are ornamented with black dots, like some Eskimo carvings of birds.¹ Turner mentions a collection of carvings of water-birds made from ivory by the Eskimo of Hudson Bay, mainly identical in type with the similar carvings of the Koryak and Chukchee, but not ornamented with incised designs.²

According to Professor Boas, the Central Eskimo use carvings — some representing birds, others men or women — in a game similar to dice, which

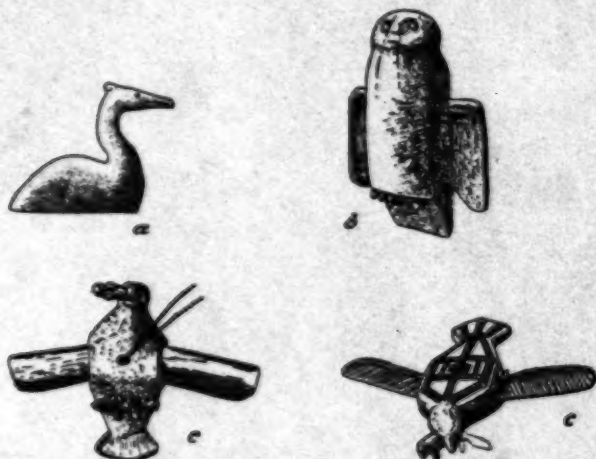


Fig. 177. Ivory Carvings representing Birds. a (177a), Swimming Cormorant (height, 3 cm.); b (177b), Hawk (height, 7 cm.); c (177c), Eagle with Movable Wings (height, 5 cm.).

they call "images of birds."³ Murdoch obtained a collection of carvings representing birds and a wolf from the Asiatic Eskimo at Plover Bay. The carvings were supposed to be merely works of art, but Murdoch admits that the Asiatic Eskimo also use them for games.⁴ Turner, on the other hand, remarks about his collection of ivory carvings representing birds made by the Labrador Eskimo, that he never heard of their being used in games.⁵ Nor have I ever heard of the Koryak using bird carvings in games.

The nature of the carvings in Fig. 177, b, c, makes them less realistic than the miniature carvings representing birds. The introduction of claws as a substitute for feet seems to me to be the first step in the process of con-

¹ See Boas, *Central Eskimo*, Fig. 522, p. 567; Nelson, Fig. 125, p. 342; Murdoch, Fig. 364, p. 365.

² See Turner, *The Hudson Bay Eskimo*, Fig. 83, p. 266.

³ See Boas, *The Central Eskimo*, Fig. 522, p. 567.

⁴ See Murdoch, p. 365.

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ventionalization of the plastic art, which developed among the Indians of the North Pacific coast. Moreover, the tail, wings, and body in Fig. 177, *b*, representing a mouse-hawk, are much inferior in their realism and artistic finish to most of the Koryak carvings. Fig. 177, *c*, represents an eagle with a fish in its talons, and in the beak a little animal, the hind part of which is broken off. This figure served as a mechanical toy; it has detachable wings, which are made to move by means of a thread. This made it difficult for the artist to observe realism in making his figure. The upper side of the figure is ornamented by etched designs: the wings, by lines indicating feathers; and the back and tail, by dots and squares, — the conventional way of representing the body and tail of a bird.

Fig. 178 represents carvings which differ in material, and were made in different places. The one in *a* was made in the settlement of Shestakovo

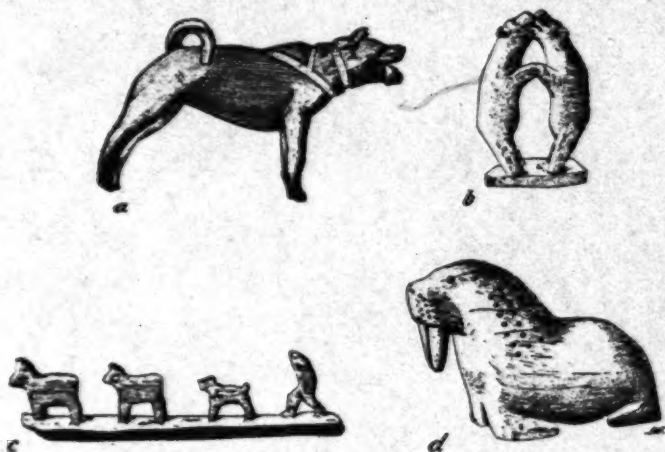


Fig. 178. *a* (5178), Wood-Carving representing a Dog (height, 7 cm.); *b* (5178), Carving made of Antler, representing Wrestling Bears (height, 3 cm.); *c* (5178), Carving in Mountain-Sheep Horn, representing Sheep and Hunter (length, 7.5 cm.); *d* (5177), Ivory Carving representing Walrus (height, 4.5 cm.).

(Penshina Bay), from wood, and the work is well done. The tense posture of the dog in harness, with tail curved upward in expectation of the start, is quite vivid, but the rigid feet are not well executed. The dog is painted black. The carving marked *b*, a pair of wrestling bears, was made in Paren (Penshina Bay), from reindeer-antler. Wrestling bears are a favorite subject among Koryak artists, but near Bering Sea they are carved from walrus-tusk with greater skill. In our collection there are two bears in the act of coition, made from wood, and carved with great realism. The specimen shown in *c* was made from mountain-sheep horn, in Kamenskoye (Penshina Bay). On a

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common mounting we have two mountain-sheep pursued by a dog and a man. The latter figure has its head broken off. Its feet display motion, but this cannot be said of the other figures in the group. In *d* is represented a walrus in sitting position, made at Opuka (Bering Sea), from walrus-tusk. Although the upper part of the body is very realistic, the carvings made from walrus-tusk along Bering Sea are generally more artistic. This specimen is of interest in that it is ornamented with dots in Eskimo fashion. Such ornamentation is very seldom found on the carvings from the coast of Penshina Bay.

Specimens of carvings of animal groups and hunting-scenes have been shown in Fig. 175 *a* and Fig. 178 *c*. Figs. 179 and 180 represent specimens of small carvings of more complex groups, which do not serve any practical purpose, and must therefore be classed with art pure and simple. The most interesting feature of these carved groups is the absence of bas-relief. The

mounting serves simply as a base for the group, which is carved out of one piece with the former; or the groups form high-reliefs (Fig. 179, *δ*). However, I have also seen bas-relief carvings in which the figures were raised less than half their height above the base. Among



Fig. 179. *a* (179), *δ* (179). Ivory and Wood Carvings representing Hunting-Scenes. Length, 14 cm., 20.5 cm.

these carvings, certain groups represent some household or hunting scene; others, as in Fig. 179, *a*, a free combination of several scenes having nothing in common. This specimen represents on one side a man aiming his gun at a bear; on the other side, a man getting into a hand-to-hand fight with a bear; and in the middle, a rock with a bird sitting on it. This group is carved from walrus-tusk, and was obtained by me in Paren (Penshina Bay), but was made at Poqač (Bering Sea). The high-relief carving shown in *δ* comes from the settlement of Levati (Penshina Bay), and is made from stone-pine. On the right hand is shown a whale pursued by hunters in a skin boat. The edge of the boat was broken off accidentally in working the brittle wood with a knife. The form of the boat, the prow being narrower than the stern, shows that it is of the type of the upper part of Penshina Bay. On the left side is shown a ground-seal (*Erignathus barbatus*) on an ice-floe, and two hunters stealthily approaching, — one in a skin boat, and the other in a dug-out. The hunters have hunting-hoods on their heads, which make

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 them resemble the heads of seals. The carvings do not show any oars, either in the large skin boat or in the small boat. The middle of the high-relief carving represents a bear approaching a ringed-seal (*Phoca hispida*), which was evidently left on the ground by the receding tide.

Fig. 180. *a*, represents a large skin boat with oarsmen, and is carved from walrus-tusk. It was obtained in the settlement of Big Itkana (Penshina



Fig. 180. Ivory Carvings. *a* (5182), Boat (length, 8 cm.); *b* (5183), Walrus and Hunters (length, 9.5 cm.).

Bay). According to the Koryak, it was made in that settlement; but it is very strange that the shape of the boat, the prow being wider than the stern, should resemble the Koryak skin boat of Bering Sea. This is shown by the position of the man at the stern and the four oarsmen sitting with their faces toward the stern. A child is shown sitting in the bottom of the boat, near the stern. Fig. 180, *b*, is a carving made at Opuka (Bering Sea), from walrus-tusk, and represents an ice-floe with six walrus on it, and two hunters close by, their guns resting on supports and levelled. The seal-skin boat of the hunters, with the broad prow of the Bering Sea type, is also on the ice-floe.

Fig. 181 shows a carving of walrus-tusk from Paren (Penshina Bay), and represents a sledge drawn by six dogs, with the driver and his whip, the

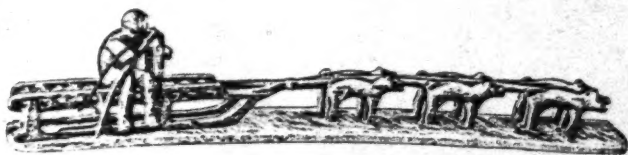


Fig. 181 (5182). Ivory Carving representing a Dog-Sledge. Length, 21.5 cm.

latter serving as a brake. The sledge, dog, harness, and base are all carved from one piece, while the driver and his whip are carved separately. It is interesting to compare the driver of this sledge with an Eskimo figure (made of ivory)¹ from Point Barrow, representing a man in sitting position. Both carvings are very much alike.

Fig. 182, carved from walrus-tusk at Paren (Penshina Bay), is a specimen

¹ See Murdoch, *The Point Barrow Eskimo*, Fig. 394, p. 396.

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of architectural carving, and represents a dwelling of the Maritime Koryak before it is covered with earth.¹ On the roof is seen a man coming up the ladder through the opening. One of the poles is mounted with the head of a sacrificial dog, and next to it is the spear with which the dog was stabbed.

Fig. 183 represents a model of a dog-sledge with a ten-dog team and the driver. This model was made by a Russo-Koryak half-breed by the name of Fletcher. He was born in the Russianized Koryak settlement Yamsk,² and is now engaged in trading at Gishiginsk. He owes his American name to the fact that when his father or grandfather was baptized, a Russianized American who had settled at Tighil in Kamchatka acted as his godfather.

The skilfully finished model of the sledge is made of birch-wood; and the dogs, of stone-pine. The way the dog-carvings are finished reveals an artistic talent of high order. The artist has not only put life and motion into the wood-carvings, but has skilfully rendered the different postures of the dogs as determined by the temper of each animal, the phase of its motion, or other factors. Thus the forward pair of dogs are made with tails hanging down. Being the leaders, they are intent upon following the trail pointed out by the driver by shouts,³ to which the dogs are listening. The drooping tails indicate fatigue or intense strain on the part of the dogs. The hindmost pair of dogs are also characteristic. Usually the lazy dogs are put next to the sledge, so that they can be more

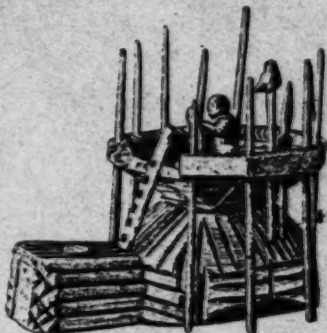


Fig. 182 (1889). Ivory Carving representing a House. Height, 11 cm.



Fig. 183 (1887). Wood-Carving representing a Dog-Sledge. Length, 70 cm.

easily reached by the whip. One of the dogs in the last pair, fearing the whip, is pulling very conscientiously, as is shown by its lowered head. The other dog is turning its head on the run towards the driver, to make sure that he is not harboring any evil designs against it.

Of course, this carving cannot be considered as primitive Koryak. Fletcher, being able to read, had seen specimens of art of civilized nations in the

¹ For a description of dwellings see pp. 453-461.

² See p. 436.

³ See p. 505.

532 drawings of illustrated magazines, which may have influenced him; but his
825 skill and his native artistic instinct were inherited by him from Koryak ancestors.
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In explanation of Fig. 183, I should add that the dog-harnesses, central line, and the lashings of the sledge, were made by Fletcher of leather. For the figure of the driver he made a wooden head with a face showing very well the Koryak type. The figure is dressed like other Koryak dolls.

532 *Household Articles ornamented with Carved Figures.* — I have stated
415 before that carvings were less frequently of practical use among the Koryak than among the Eskimo. Nevertheless small household articles ornamented with carved figures of men and animals, such as we find among the Eskimo, are also to be found among them. Figs. 184 and 185 are reproductions of such articles.

Fig. 184, *a*, is a dipper made from alder-wood in the settlement of Big Itkana (Penshina Bay). The handle of the dipper shows a carving representing



Fig. 184. Carved Dipper and Spoons. *a* (1881), Dipper with Carving representing Wrestlers (length, 16.5 cm.); *b* (1881), Spoon with Carving representing Mountain-Goat (length, 25 cm.); *c* (1881), Spoon with Carving representing Two Bears (length, 24.5 cm.).

two wrestlers. Only the upper parts of the bodies are shown. Fig. 184, *b*, represents a spoon made on the shores of Bering Sea, from the horn of mountain-sheep. Fig. 184, *c*, was made from mountain-sheep horn in Alutor (Bering Sea). The handle is ornamented with carvings representing two bears.

[292] Among small articles ornamented with carved animals, our collection
[276] contains also belt-clasps with the figures of two seals, and a pipe with the figure of a seal, made from walrus-tusk in Kamenskoye (Penshina Bay).

412 Fig. 185 is also a reproduction of specimens of carvings made for orna-
532 mental purposes. That marked *a* represents a snow-beater made from antler of wild reindeer by a Reindeer Koryak of the Opuka River, and is ornamented with a carved head of a mountain-sheep; *b* represents an awl used by women in ornamenting their dress with slit-embroidery.¹ The handle of the awl was carved from wood in Big Itkana (Penshina Bay), and the orna-

¹ See p. 672.

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mentation represents a sledge with a team of eight dogs. Apparently the whole handle represents at the same time a bear, the point being the snout, the ears being indicated just under the sledge, and the two prominences on the lower side representing fore and hind feet. It resembles in form the bear figures used by the Eskimo in the cup-and-ball game.¹ The specimen shown in *c* is a pipe made of bone in Kamenskoye (Penshina Bay), and very crudely ornamented with the carving of a human face.

The Koryak carvings of animals on household articles follow the rule

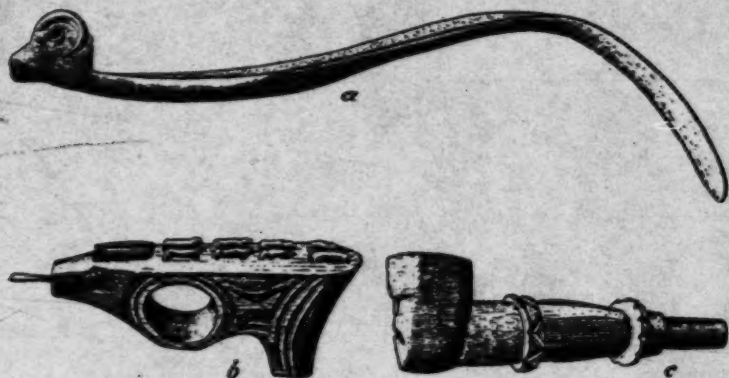


Fig. 185. *a* (5172), Snow-Basher (length, 52 cm.); *b* (5173), Awl (length, 11 cm.); *c* (5177), Pipe (length, 22.5 cm.).

of modern ornamental carvings, — that of serving to embellish and brighten up the ornamented article without obscuring it. For that reason, ornamental carving may retain its realistic character of pure art. Among the Indians of the North Pacific coast we find a tendency to cover the entire article with an ornamental animal. It has been pointed out by Professor Boas² that this tendency has resulted in depriving carvings of their realism. Judging by some illustrations of objects in the work of Nelson,³ this inclination prevails to a considerable extent also among the Alaskan Eskimo. Professor Boas ascribes this tendency of the Alaskan Eskimo to the influence of the art of the adjacent Indians. Perhaps a trace of this proneness to turn an ornamental animal into a real article, certainly its inception, is to be found among the Koryak and Eskimo of other localities, but in a most primitive form. Thus the wooden cup for the whale festival among the Koryak⁴ represents that animal. In the Eskimo collections from Point Barrow we find a bone

¹ See Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 566.

² See Boas, *The Decorative Art of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast* (Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, 1897, Vol. IX, p. 124).

³ See Nelson, *Plates XLII, LXII, and Figs. 40, 50*, pp. 144, 200.

⁴ See Part I, Fig. 30, A, p. 72.

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531 ladle, and boxes for harpoon-heads, in the form of whales;¹ and among the
171 Eskimo of Hudson Bay we find ivory needle-cases carved in the form of
whales.²

531 I believe that the æsthetic taste is as strong and spontaneous a longing
of primitive man as are beliefs. Whoever has lived among primitive
● 517 people knows well how strong is their passion for all kinds of ornaments.
778 In one of his stories from the life of the Chukchee, Mr. Bogoras pictures a
hunch-back shepherd gathering variegated pebbles, and spending his leisure
time in laying them out in different combinations for his own pleasure.³
Mr. Bogoras told me personally that the incident was drawn from real life.
Undoubtedly there are cases when an article which first served as an amulet
becomes, in the course of time, an ornament; but there are cases, on the
other hand, when an article of art becomes an amulet later on. For that
reason we must prove in each particular case the course of inter-action of
the two psychological factors, — the religious and the æsthetic, — and this
it is not always easy to settle. Taking, for instance, the wooden figure of the
whale for the whale festival,⁴ it is difficult to tell whether the whale-carving was
first made from a mere desire on the part of the artist to imitate nature, or
whether the necessities of the ritual furnished the impetus for carving the
whale. Personally I am inclined to the former hypothesis. We find a similar
phenomenon in the Eskimo custom of putting the carving of a whale into
the mouth of a new-born male infant in order to make him a good hunter.⁵

In the Koryak carvings, and to a certain extent in those of the Eskimo,
in so far as they are not adapted to practical wants, we have an excellent
illustration of the spontaneous development of primitive art independent of
religion. Those amulets which consist of wooden limbs or parts of animals,
instead of the entire animal, cannot be classed with pure art, because they serve,
not as expressions of real sense-impressions, but of vague ideas of anthropo-
morphism and the substitution of a part for a whole. This accounts for the
crudeness of the images of Koryak idols, as pointed out by me before, which
distinguishes them from carvings made for the pleasure of carving. Orna-
mental carving still retains in many cases the realism and the finesse of art
for art's sake: such as, for instance, the mountain-sheep on the spoon illustra-
ted in Fig. 184, 6.

532 Less attention is paid to finish and realism in the carving of toys. A
524 large number of objects in miniature carving, used as toys, are very poorly
executed. These objects can easily be recognized by the hole made in them,
by means of which they can be strung on a thong. Children quite frequently

¹ See Murdock, Fig. 45, p. 105; Fig. 251, p. 249.

² See Bess, Baffin-Land Eskimo, Fig. 136, p. 93.

³ Tan, *com-pléme* of Mr. Bogoras, *Sketches and Stories*, Vol. III, *Chukchee Stories* (St. Petersburg, 1900), p. 120.

⁴ See Part I, Fig. 30, a, p. 72.

⁵ See Bess, Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 260; Nelson, p. 290.

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men. The make-up is conventional, and there is lack of perspective. Thus on the left side we see a woman, who, in a kneeling position, is carving fish on the ground in order to dry it in the sun; farther to the right, what seems to be the figure of a man, holding a disembowelled fish and the severed head of the fish in his hands, is running toward the drying-frames in order to hang them up for drying; still farther to the right, a man is trying



a



b

Fig. 194. a ('sill'), b ('sill'). Cutting-Boards with Incised Designs. Length, 40 cm., 60 cm.

to catch a fish by means of a pole and hook. The boundary-line between the water and the shore does not appear. Evidently the river or the sea must be in the background, behind the man and the drying-frames. The lack of perspective does not appear so clearly in Fig. 194, b, for the reason that all the objects represented there are in one plane. It represents a hunter kneeling on one knee, with a flint gun, the butt of which is pressed against his shoulder, while the barrel rests on a wooden stand. He is aiming the gun at a bear, which is attacked in the rear by a dog. Although the figures are only silhouettes, the posture of the man and the motions of the animals are brought out with remarkable vividness. Moreover, the proportions between the different objects have been well observed. It is interesting to note here, that the specimen shown in Fig. 194, b, was made by a Reindeer Koryak of Poqa'c, a young man of twenty-five years, whom I have seen on the Palpal. This proves that among the Reindeer Koryak we also find men with a high artistic taste.

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274 designs: characterized, however, by wider white lines as compared to the
531 remaining black background. The more complicated forms do not appear in this technique: but we have, on the whole, series of rhythmically arranged rectangles, as shown, for instance, in the narrow strips containing white bars in Fig. 208.

There is another figure frequently found in the ornamentation of funeral and sometimes of ordinary clothing. — inscribed arches with elongated sides, or ovals with one end cut off. These figures may be seen on the two

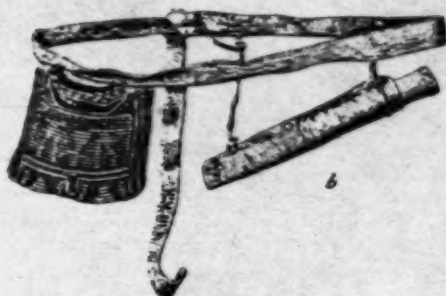


Fig. 202 Bead-Embroidery. a. Belt (width, 7 cm.; b. Pouch (height, 12 cm.).

funeral quivers before mentioned.¹ Embroidered figures of this kind are found on ancient Chukchee quivers² and on some articles of the Alaskan Eskimo.³

It is very interesting that, in the ornamentation of funeral and dancing costumes, we do not find any realistic reproductions of men and animals which could be considered as "guardians" of the dead or of the shamans, or of other

persons who perform the religious dances. In the shamanistic costumes of the Yakut, the Tungus, and other Siberian tribes, we do find figures of "guardians" of shamans in the form of outlines of men and other animals. These figures are embroidered on the dress with sinew-thread; and sometimes figures cut out of leather, cloth, tin, or copper, or wrought from iron, are sewed on the dress.

Professor Boas has called attention to the difference in the decorative style applied in ceremonial and common objects among the Indians, the Eskimo, and the Gold of the Amur River.⁴ Their ceremonial objects are

¹ See Part I, Fig. 50, p. 107; also Fig. 43, p. 106; and Fig. 227 of this part.

² See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plate XI, Fig. 1; The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, Fig. 76, p. 157.

³ See Nelson, Plate XLV, Figs. 15, 31, 32; Plate XX, Fig. 6.

⁴ See Boas, The Decorative Art of the North American Indians (Popular Science Monthly, October, 1903,

517 covered with more or less realistic designs, while the decoration of ordinary garments represents geometrical motives. I have stated that the same phenomenon occurs among the Yakut and Tungus in reference to the decoration of their shaman's and ordinary wearing-apparel. We see the reverse among the Koryak. Their funeral and dancing garments are covered with geometrical designs, and realistic designs are found only among the decorative motives of ordinary coats and on fur rugs.

532 In the ornamentation of funeral garments there is only one case of a figure resembling a starfish,¹ and another resembling a frog. An ancient Chukchee quiver has embroidered figures resembling the Russian letter Ж,² which could be mistaken for a conventionalized frog. I point this out, because, in the Gilyak cult, the frog plays an important part, and its figure serves as an amulet.³ In Yûkaghir mythology the frog is mentioned,⁴ but neither in the Koryak nor in the Chukchee myths do we meet with the frog.⁵

531 This may be the proper place to say a few words as to the part played by figures in the decorative art of the Koryak in general. If we are to assume that, in the case of all tribes, every ornament has, or had at one time, a certain meaning, then I must confess that I have not succeeded in finding the required explanations, either because the Koryak have forgotten the meaning of their ancient ornaments, or because the particular persons from whom I tried to obtain the explanations were not familiar with them, in which case the subject still remains to be investigated.

I was able to ascertain that all ornamental designs on dresses, as well as the tattooings, are called by the same name — ka'li or ke'le — as is used by the Koryak to designate, not only all kinds of drawings, but also the printing in books and Russian letters. Some Koryak said that simple, double, and concentric circles represent the sun, the moon, or the stars. I was told on one occasion that zigzags represent mountains; on another, that they represent waves. Cross-like figures are supposed to represent flying birds; but I was told that as a general rule the ornament had no special significance. Even the information as to zigzags I obtained only after insistent questioning, which may have stimulated the answer. The impression obtained by me was, that the persons interrogated were considering their replies while being questioned. For that reason, I do not attach special importance to their answers. It will be clearly apparent from what follows, that the women

¹ See woman's funeral overcoat, Part I, Fig. 51, p. 106.

² See Bogoras, Chukchee Material Life, Plate XI, Fig. 2.

³ See Schrenck, III, p. 750.

⁴ See Jochelson, Yakaghir Materials, p. 5.

⁵ Mr. Sternberg has called my attention to the resemblance of some figures in the Koryak-Chukchee decorative art to Gilyak representations of the frog; but I have never seen a frog in the country of the Koryak. Neither Krasheninnikoff (I, p. 492) nor Dittmar (Reisen in Kamtschatka, p. 345) found it in Kamtschatka. If the ornament in question really represents a frog, this pattern must have been adopted from the south. I should add, however, that, according to Stunin's assertions (see Stunin, I, p. 339), one species of frog has been found in Kamtschatka.

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with, on the one side a red, on the other side a purple, flower. The following fields of central flower with double leaf are, on the right-hand side of the coat, a central blue and lateral purple background, on which the flower is embroidered in red with yellow outline, the leaves with light greenish-blue and red veins. On the left-hand side the central background is black, the lateral background blue, on which the flower is embroidered in fawn-color, the leaves in bright red with greenish-blue veins; i.e., the reverse arrangement of those on the right side. On the whole, it would seem that in the



Fig. 217, a (1111), b (1111). Fur Coats.

color-scheme, yellow and pink and intermediate tints are almost equivalent, while blue and purple and intermediate tints are also equivalent.

In the fur coat $\frac{10}{6151}$ a break in the continuity of the design along the lower border occurs under the left arm. The narrow white strip of skin which forms the upper edge of the border alone is continued. All the other designs are replaced by a single piece of reindeer-skin, which is set in. Besides this, one element of the embroidered design is replaced by a piece of reindeer-skin.

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terial; but a more characteristic feature of that animal is indicated on the skin, namely, thick black hair.

6. Ten wolf-skins. The wolf-skin is taken off in the same manner as the reindeer-skin, and its representation differs from that of the reindeer only by the addition of a long tail.
7. Two wolverene-skins. The skin of the wolverene is taken off like that of the fox. Accidentally it is represented as smaller in size than the fox. Wolverenes in general are larger than foxes; but the characteristic feature of that animal — a large body and short legs — is brought out.
8. Three skins of polar foxes. The skin of the polar fox is represented in the same way as that of the other fox (No. 3).
9. Ten skins of polar foxes for thirty rubles. This memorandum, with a double meaning, — since it indicates both the number of skins and their cost, — is put by Qaci'lqut in parentheses (two lines). Of the number-signs, the former (ten) indicates the number of skins, and the latter (thirty) their value. The repetition of the fox-skin signifies that both numbers relate to the same article.
10. Three coats of reindeer-skin. The illustration of the coat differs from that of the reindeer-skin (No. 4) by having only two side-lines for sleeves, and also by indicating the hood of the coat in the upper part.
11. Five pairs of fur boots. Only one boot is shown.

List of Goods (Fig. 250).

1. A boy's summer and winter suit and travelling-overcoat (separately). The suits are drawn, like the coats, with the addition of boots (under the line). In Fig. 250 Qaci'lqut did not use the numeral sign in cases of single articles.
2. A man's winter and summer suit and overcoat. Drawn as in No. 1.
3. A girl's summer and winter combination-garment and two overcoats. In the drawing of the suit, the woman's wide trousers are indicated.
4. A woman's summer and winter suit and two overcoats. Made as in No. 3, only of a larger size. The lines between the first four numbers have no significance, and merely serve to separate one from the other.
5. One combination-dress of a child. The peculiarity about this dress is that it has a flap sewed on behind in the shape of a tail, which is placed between the legs.
6. Two collars for reindeer-harness.
7. Two reindeer bridles and reins. The drawing of the bridle differs from that of the collar in having inside the ring an indication of the hitching-strap; and on the side, of the bone piece.
- 8, 9. One reindeer-lasso, and a coil of seal-skin thong.
- 10-12. A pair of boots, two reindeer-skins, one whip.

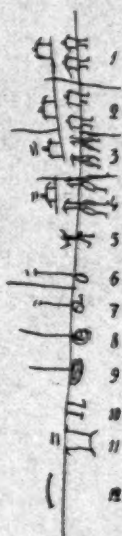


Fig. 250 Koryak Account.

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After an examination of Qaci'lqut's writing, the interesting conclusion may be drawn that the conventional representation of animals and other objects of nature is not always a perversion of the original realistic representation. Conventionalism in this case constitutes the primary phase. The primary conventionalization of natural objects may be the result of inability

212 to give a realistic representation of objects, or, when the presentation is for
517 practical ends only, a lack of care in execution. In the present case, for
instance, it was important only that the illustration should serve to recall the
objects. With the exception of the illustrations of dress (Fig. 250), in which
any one would recognize human figures, we could not tell the meaning of
the other primitive illustrations in these writings without explanation. Even
other Koryak to whom I showed the letter seldom recognized all of them.
Not all Koryak traders who keep written memoranda are familiar with the
number-signs used by Qač'ilqut. One of them, for instance, used only one
sign, the line. He used only units, in the same manner as the Koryak and
Chukchee make use of counters in verifying accounts.¹

211 I did not see among the Koryak notched sticks like those used by the
Yakut, the Tungus, and the Yukaghir, in recording accounts. However, the
trader mentioned employed some devices to avoid the necessity of writing
an interminable row of lines in enumerating large numbers: for instance, to
indicate a pud (40 Russian pounds, or 36 pounds Avoirdupois), he drew a
balance with loaded scale in equilibrium. This signified full weight.

212 Nelson² speaks of the trading-records of the Alaskan Eskimo, which,
171 judging by his account, are quite similar to those of the Koryak. Unfortu-
nately he does not give any illustrations which would make it possible to
compare the records of the Eskimo and the Koryak.

823 *Geographical Maps.* — Among the Koryak pencil-drawings, there are
also geographical maps of the sea and the coast of Penshina Bay. The
Koryak display in their charts quite a true perception of the relative disposi-
tion of the seacoast, rivers, mountains, and settlements. On the whole, their
charts resemble very much the illustrations of Eskimo charts published by
other travellers. The settlements are indicated on Koryak charts by rings,
dots, or small dashes, which represent houses; small rivers are represented
by one line, large ones by two parallel lines; mountains are represented by
parallel shadings of different degrees. One chart made by a lad of seventeen
in Kamenskoye, and representing the northern part of Penshina Bay, is
especially well made (see Fig. 251). Itkana and Ma'meč Capes protrude
into the bay, making it appear very narrow. As a matter of fact, this part
of the bay is very narrow (see Part I. map). In calm weather the passage
from the Itkana settlements to the Ma'meč can be made in a skin boat in
from eight to ten hours. The mouth of the Penshina and Talovka Rivers,
which empty into one inlet, the Kamenskoye and the Talovka settlements,
the mountain-ridge between Talovka and Penshina, and a few other features,
are also well drawn. The three Itkana villages are not indicated. In the
bay are shown some hunting-scenes of floating ice-fields with seals on them, of
spouting whales in pursuit of sea-mammals, and hunters in kayaks and skin boats.

¹ See p. 427.² See Nelson, p. 198.